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SOME ASPECTS OF NOOTKA LANGUAGE AND CULTURE¹

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INTRODUCTION

THE two brief sketches that follow are based on linguistic and ethnological material collected during September to December of 1910 among two tribes of the Northern Nootka of Barkley Sound and Alberni Canal, the *Ts'icyā^{re}atH^a* and *Hopátc/as^satH^a*,² now living at the head of Alberni Canal and on the banks of Somass River, in the neighborhood of the present town of Alberni. During the time spent among the Nootka Indians a few points were studied with relative fulness, though at best only a beginning was made even for these, while many other points of great importance were only touched upon. In the present paper two matters of considerable interest in regard to the linguistic and cultural affiliations of the Nootka and Kwakiutl are somewhat hurriedly discussed. The full presentation of the facts involved is reserved for future publications. It should be added that the wolf ritual was witnessed by the writer.

1. THE LINGUISTIC RELATIONSHIP OF KWAKIUTL AND NOOTKA

The Wakashan linguistic stock is divided into two main branches, the Kwakiutl and the Nootka or Aht; the former embraces Kwakiutl proper, Xaisla, and Hē'łtsa^q, the latter Northern Nootka (from about Cape Beale north to Cape Cook on the west coast of Vancouver Island) and Southern Nootka or Nitinat (south of Cape Beale to Cape Flattery). By careful comparison of the two Wakashan branches one can in part reconstruct a Wakashan "Ursprache," but the actual differences between Kwakiutl and Nootka are in fact very great; they differ perhaps as much as Slavic and Latin.

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²Boas' and Swanton's phonetic system is used with some modifications for the vowels. *i*, *e*, and *o* are short and open, thus corresponding to their *ī*, *ē*, and *ō*; *ɪ*, *ɛ*, and *ɔ*, are short and close, and correspond to their *ī*, *ē*, and *ō*; *î*, *ê*, and *ô* are long and open, *ê* being equivalent to Boas' *ä*. Superior vowels used with *H* denote vocalic timbre.

As regards phonetics, Kwakiutl and Nootka, while both showing characteristic Northwest Coast features, differ rather considerably. The sonant or intermediate stop series of Kwakiutl is absent in Nootka, Kwakiutl *p* and *b* for instance being replaced by Nootka *p*. Besides the *s*-series, which Kwakiutl and Nootka possess in common, Nootka has a *c*-series, which is doubtless derived from the Kwakiutl and Wakashan *k'*-series, which in turn Nootka lacks; thus Kwakiutl *g'* and *k'* are cognate with Nootka *tc*, *k'* with *tc'*, and *x'* with *c*. There is no *l* in Nootka, *n* corresponding to both Kwakiutl *l* and *n*. The velars *q'* and *x*, while somewhat infrequently found in Nootka, are not the regular Nootka representatives of Kwakiutl *q'* and *x*; *q'* has developed into a peculiarly harsh and choky glottal stop, which I write $\bar{q}$, *x* into a strangulated-sounding *h* which I write *H*, these two consonants respectively resembling Arabic 'ain and hâ; ordinary $\bar{q}$ and *h* are also frequently found in Nootka. As regards phonetic processes, Kwakiutl and Nootka agree in allowing no initial consonant clusters in words; initial Kwakiutl and Nootka $\bar{m}$, $\bar{n}$, $\bar{w}$, $\bar{y}$, and Kwakiutl $\bar{l}$ are undoubtedly related to ordinary Kwakiutl and Nootka *m*, *n*, *w*, *y*, and Kwakiutl *l* as are Kwakiutl and Nootka *p'*, *t'*, *k'*, *L'*, *ts'*, *q'*, Kwakiutl *k'*, and Nootka *tc'* to non-fortis Kwakiutl and Nootka *p*, *t*, *k*, *L*, *ts*, *q*, Kwakiutl *k'*, and Nootka *tc*. In both Kwakiutl and Nootka certain derivative suffixes "harden" the final consonant of the stem; thus *p*, *q*, and *t*, become Kwakiutl *p'*, *q'*, and $\bar{l}$, Nootka *p'*, $\bar{q}$, and $\bar{y}$. The "softening" of Kwakiutl seems to be represented in Nootka by but a few stray phonetic processes. Syllabically final glottal stops and glottally affected consonants—such as $\bar{l}$ and $\bar{p}'$,—which are common in Kwakiutl, are entirely absent in Nootka. Medial and final consonant clusters are not as freely allowed in Nootka as in Kwakiutl, *i* often serving in Nootka to lighten them (cf. Nootka *-qEmil*, "round thing," with Kwakiutl *-qEmt* "mask"). All final vowels and stopped consonants in Nootka are aspirated. Peculiar to Kwakiutl is the change of *k*-stops to spirants (*x*, *x''*, *x'*) before consonants, whereas in Nootka they remain; in this point Nootka seems more archaic than Kwakiutl.

In general morphology Kwakiutl and Nootka are quite similar,

despite numerous differences of detail. In both the stem is, as far as its meaning allows, indifferently verbal or nominal and one or more suffixes are required to give rise to definitely verbal or nominal complexes; in Nootka a suffixed $^s i$ is often used to substantivize a verb form. Both Kwakiutl and Nootka are absolutely devoid of prefixes, most of the elaborate grammatical mechanism being carried on by means of suffixes, to a lesser extent by means of initial reduplication, and, in Nootka, consonantal changes. The suffixes of Nootka and Kwakiutl express similar ideas and are used in more or less parallel fashion, though the number of suffixes that are etymologically related form but a small percentage of those found in either; so far about ninety Nootka suffixes have been discovered that are entirely or in part cognate to Kwakiutl suffixes. Examples of local suffixes shared by Kwakiutl and Nootka are: Kwakiutl $-\bar{o}^s y\bar{o}$ "in the middle," Nootka $^s win$; Kwakiutl $-\bar{n}\bar{e}q$ "in the corner," Nootka $-nikw$; Kwakiutl $-at\bar{u}s$ "down river," Nootka $-ahis$; Kwakiutl $-ts/\bar{o}$ "in," Nootka $-ts/\bar{o}'$; Kwakiutl $-k\cdot E$ "top of a box," Nootka $-tc\bar{i}'$ "full"; Kwakiutl $-\bar{a}^1$ "on the rocks," Nootka $-\bar{a}^s a'$; Kwakiutl $-\bar{e}s$ "on the beach," Nootka $-is$; Kwakiutl $-\bar{u}$ "in the house," Nootka $-i\bar{t}$; Kwakiutl $-xs$ "in a canoe," Nootka $-qs, -/aHs$. A few examples of body-part suffixes are: Kwakiutl $-\bar{l}\bar{o}s$ "cheek," Nootka $-as$; Kwakiutl $-x\bar{o}$ "neck," Nootka $-as-Haul$ "chest"; Kwakiutl $-\bar{a}p!$ "neck," Nootka $-\bar{a}p/a\bar{t}$ "back." Important temporal elements held in common are: Kwakiutl $-L$ "future," Nootka $^s \bar{a}q-L$, $^s iL$; Kwakiutl $-x^s \bar{i}d$ "inceptive," Nootka $-ci-L$. There are some striking agreements in verbifying derivative suffixes, as: Kwakiutl $-\bar{l}\bar{e}xst$ "to desire," Nootka $-\bar{l}iH^a$ "to try to get," $-st/\bar{l}iH^a$ "to have as goal"; Kwakiutl $-\bar{a}$ "to go in order to," Nootka $-\bar{a}s$; Kwakiutl $-k\cdot/\bar{a}la$ "to make a noise," Nootka $^s \bar{e}n'$ (= Wakashan $*-q/\bar{e}la$); Kwakiutl $-g\cdot a^s \bar{t}$ "beginning of a noise," Nootka $^s aL$ (= Wakashan $*-q/\bar{a}^s \bar{t}$); Kwakiutl $-q/\bar{e}s$ "to eat," Nootka $-\bar{l}is$; Kwakiutl $-nuk^u$ "to have," Nootka $-nak'$. Examples of nominal suffixes are: Kwakiutl $-aan\bar{o}$ "rope," Nootka $-\bar{a}^s nu\bar{t}$ "long"; Kwakiutl $-gas$ "woman," Nootka $^s aqs$; Kwakiutl $-as\bar{d}\bar{e}$ "meat," Nootka $-act'$ "dried meat"; Kwakiutl $-mis$ "useless," Nootka $-mis$ "mass"; Kwakiutl $-p/\bar{e}-q$

¹ l denotes a "strengthening" of the preceding consonant.

"stick, tree," Nootka *-p/ɪl* "long board-like object," *-q-* "tree"; Kwakiutl *-(x)⁸Enx* "year, season," Nootka *-q⁸itCH^a* "year," *-itCH^a* "season." On the whole it seems that Nootka has a rather larger number of derivative suffixes than Kwakiutl, many quite special ideas being expressed by means of suffixes where there seem to be no Kwakiutl equivalents. A few examples are *-at* "blanket"; *-⁸mit* "son"; *-as* "daughter"; *-litul* "to dream of"; *-lō⁸il* "to ask for as a gift in a girl's puberty ceremony"; *-tlō⁸la'* "to give a pot-latch for"; *-yaqH^a* "to sing a song"; *-liL* "to begin to sing a song"; *-linl* "to give a feast of"; *-Hā'* "to buy."

Both Kwakiutl and Nootka make use of two kinds of reduplication, one in which the first consonant, first vowel, and second consonant of the stem are repeated, and one in which only the first consonant and vowel are repeated; the former type is employed in forming iteratives, the second in forming plurals or distributives and with certain suffixes (such as Kwakiutl *-la*, Nootka *-las* "to endeavor, to go in order to"; Kwakiutl *-yāla* "to go to look for"; Nootka *-liH^a* "to try to get"; Nootka *-k/o⁸k^u* "to look like"). In Nootka the repeated vowel is in all cases the same as that of the stem, in Kwakiutl the second type of reduplication has a definite vocalism (*ē* in some cases, *ā* in others) in the reduplicating syllable. In Kwakiutl verb stems ending in vowels insert *x* after the first, *k* after the second syllable of the iterative, while Nootka iteratives of like form insert *L* and *y*; Nootka *sā-* "to crawl" forms iterative *sā'LSātC*, *-tc* being probably identical with Kwakiutl *-k*. One other striking resemblance of detail between Kwakiutl and Nootka may be noted: both Kwakiutl diminutives in *-em* and Nootka nouns in *-kwin'* "toy" require reduplication of the stem.

In regard to pronominal development there is considerable difference between Kwakiutl and Nootka. While there is, practically speaking, but one series of personal pronominal suffixes in Kwakiutl, there are three in Nootka (represented, for second person singular, by *-e⁸its*, *-k'*, and *-sok'*), of which the second and third are etymologically related; the first Nootka series is used in indicative forms of verbs, the second in subordinate clauses, interrogatives, and possessive forms of nouns, while the third seems to be confined to

certain modal forms. Kwakiutl has distinct forms for first person plural inclusive and exclusive, while Nootka has only one form for both. Pronominal objects are, to at least a considerable extent, incorporated in Kwakiutl, in Nootka, however, only in the case of the first person (second series) of the imperative. A great degree of complexity in pronominal forms is brought about in Kwakiutl by the combination of the pronominal affixes with syntactic (subjective, objective, and instrumental) and demonstrative elements. Nootka has none of this syntactic and demonstrative complexity of the pronoun, but a series of forms is found built up of the second pronominal series and an element *-tc* implying that the statement is not made on the authority of the speaker.

Almost all Nootka and Kwakiutl words are noun or verb forms, there being almost no particles properly speaking. Such apparent Nootka conjunctive and case particles as *ʔōnōL* "because," *ʔoyi'* "when, if," and *ʔōkwił* "to" are morphologically verb forms built up of a stem *ʔō-* "a certain one, thing" and derivative verbifying suffixes. There is, however, in Nootka a syntactically important conjunctive element *ʔani'* "that" to which may be appended pronominal affixes of the second series and which may perhaps be considered a particle in the proper sense of the word. The "empty stem," Nootka *ʔō-*, is cognate with Kwakiutl *ō-* "something" which, however, is used primarily in noun forms. Other Wakashan "empty stems" are: Nootka *ʔaps-*, *ʔam-*, Kwakiutl *āps-*, used chiefly in forming nouns of body-parts that occur in pairs, and Nootka *hił-*, *hi-* "to be at," Kwakiutl *hē-* "that"; peculiar to Nootka is *hin*, *hił-* (before "hardening" suffixes) "to be *or* do (as indicated by derivative suffix)."

In regard to vocabulary Kwakiutl and Nootka differ greatly. Considering the very striking morphological agreements between them it is somewhat disappointing to find comparatively few stems held in common. It is highly important, however, to note that many of these are rather colorless in content and thus hardly to be suspected of having been borrowed in post-Wakashan times. Such are Kwakiutl *ʔnā-*, Nootka *ʔnās* "daylight"; Kwakiutl *gāl-*, Nootka *tcān-* "to be first"; Kwakiutl *ax-* "to do, be," Nootka *ʔoH-* "to be";

Kwakiutl *wē-*, Nootka *wi-*, *wik'* "not"; Kwakiutl *gē*, Nootka *qe'* "a long time"; Kwakiutl *ⁿem-*, Nootka *ⁿup-* "one"; Kwakiutl *gwē-* "thus," Nootka *qwi-* "to be or do thus"; Kwakiutl *sō-*, Nootka *sō-* "you"; Kwakiutl *ēk'!*, Nootka *ⁱtcl-* "above." Thus Dr Boas' first announcement in 1890 of the close relationship between Kwakiutl and Nootka has been confirmed in every way by new evidence.

II. THE NOOTKA WOLF RITUAL

The Nootka of Barkley Sound have two important public rituals, a doctoring ceremony known as *ts!ā'yeg'* or *ts!āts!ā'yegc* and a wolf ritual held in winter known as *Lōkwā'na'*. The former ceremony is not known to the more northern Nootka tribes and seems to have been borrowed from the Coast Salish of eastern Vancouver Island; the latter has been profoundly influenced by the winter ceremonial of the Kwakiutl: the Nootka names seem to be derived from Kwakiutl *ts!ē'qa* or *ts!ē'ts!aēqa* "winter ceremonial" and *Lō'gwala* "wolf dance." A long origin legend of the *Lōkwā'na'* was secured which localizes that ceremony in the country of the *Yul-ū'ⁱl'atH* (Ucluelet), one of the tribes of Barkley Sound; it tells of a young man who went among the wolves in order to obtain from their chief the magic war-club with which to deal death to his enemies and who, having witnessed the *Lōkwā'na'* among the wolves, introduced it into his tribe on his return. A wolf ritual is always given in connection with some sort of potlatch, and those invited to the latter are not supposed to know that a *Lōkwā'na'* is about to take place. The man who runs and pays all the expenses of the *Lōkwā'na'* is generally the father or other close relative of one of those to be initiated into the tenets of the wolf ritual, though others not related to him are, as a rule, also to be initiated. The wolf ritual may be briefly described as a dramatic performance representing the capture of the novices by the wolves, their recapture from the wolves, the exorcism of wolf spirits that they bring back with them, and the performances of dances that the novices are supposed to have been taught by the wolves. The exact details of the course of the ritual differ according to the tribe and family traditions of the *Lōkwā'nap'* or giver of the *Lōkwā'na'*.

At some point in the potlatching and feasting of the first evening the lights are suddenly put out and four wolves are dimly seen scampering about and whistling furiously. The particular color or decoration of these wolves depends on the *topā'ti'* or inherited privilege of the *Lōkwā'nap'*. At the same time there is a terrible uproar on the part of the people, who simulate fear, and all the singing of gift songs and other forms of merriment cease. From now on all pretend to be in constant fear of the wolves, and those not yet initiated or not to be initiated at that *Lōkwā'na'* are told that genuine wolves have invaded the village. When light is restored, the wolves have disappeared and with them certain of the novices. After a while the four wolves again appear and, when order is again restored, the rest of the novices are found to have disappeared. Pretended efforts are made to find these, curses are hurled against the wolves, and a trap is set to capture them; the right to give this trap is a *topā'ti'* of a particular family. During the night and at various times during the three days following wolves are heard to howl and whistle and, from time to time, are seen along the edge of the woods at some distance from the village. The number of wolves used in the ritual for this purpose differs again according to the *topā'ti'* of the *Lōkwā'nap'*, some families claiming the right to use fifty or even sixty wolves. Only a certain number of men in the tribe have the inherited right to "play wolf," though, as in the case of practically all inherited privileges, the actual performance of the *topā'ti'* may be deputed, with payment for vicarious service, to others not so entitled. Each line of descent that transmits the privilege of playing wolf is characterized by its special *topā'ti'* of wolf decoration in black and white and has its secret medicines for painting the face black and for warding off evil consequences of the curses of the people. The manner in which the wolves move about, the order in which they come out of the woods, the direction in which they turn, and the number of times they appear are all rigidly determined; the howls of the wolves also are conventional in character and are not intended accurately to reproduce real wolf howls. Three distinct types of whistle are employed by the wolves, the sounds made by which may be respec-

tively described as resembling a squeak, a quacking noise, and the sound of a bugle; they are all constructed of two pieces of slightly hollowed out wood which tightly fit together and are wrapped with wild-cherry bark. Four of the wolves are messengers, each bearing his special name, and scamper about somewhat apart from and more hurriedly than the rest; one of the wolves is abnormally large and is supposed to be the pack-wolf; a sixth is lame and howls *hīhō* for long stretches of time, the assumption of this last rôle being the *tōpā'ti'* of a particular family.

During the four days that the novices are absent they are supposed to be the captives of the wolves; in reality they are, or rather were, kept at a house in the woods which is tabooed to the uninitiated. The wolves, when not "on duty," dress as ordinarily and return to the village to mingle with the rest, by whom they are not supposed to be recognized as the impersonators of the wolves. At certain times the chief of the tribe exercises his jealously guarded *tōpā'ti'* of singing a special *ts!?'qa'* song intended to call out the wolves and have them bring the novices to view; *ts!?'qa'* songs are a class of songs of solemn chant-like character accompanied, during the *Lōkwā'na'*, by rapid rattling, at other times by rapid drumming. After the singing of this song the wolves appear and also the novices are seen to come out in a prescribed order at the edge of the woods; they wear hemlock branch ornaments and wave hemlock boughs in their hands. Whenever the wolves are heard howling or are seen, many of the people sing *ts!?'qa'* songs referring to the *Lōkwā'na'*; these differ for different lines of descent, and, as each person rattles and sings his own *ts!?'qa'* regardless of all others, the resulting din can be easily imagined.

On the afternoon of the third day of the ritual some men set off in canoes across the river with the ostensible purpose of seizing the novices from the wolves. This ceremony is known as *ᵉmātskwī'ᵉL* "to go in order to get the remains (*i. e.*, torn clothing) of what has been bitten (and carried off in the mouths of the wolves, *i. e.*, of the novices.)" The novices themselves are known as *ᵉmē'ᵉat'* "those who have been bitten (and carried off in the mouths of the wolves)," the Nootka metaphor of the "biting and carrying off by the wolves"

of the novices corresponding to the Kwakiutl one of their "disappearance." The canoemen return baffled; they have skirmished with the wolves at the edge of the water but have found it impossible to wrest their captives from them. On the afternoon of the fourth day takes place a ceremony known as ^e*mākwa^ei'*^{H^a} "to try to get what is held in the mouths (of the wolves)." It is a fairly elaborate out-of-doors performance, consisting of frequent singing of *ts'!'ⁱqa'* songs, of the appearance at various times of the wolves and novices, of the "acting crazy" (*qeqe'cap'qa'*) of various groups of men and women, and of the steady approach of the row of people towards the wolves while singing a ritualistic song intended to please the latter. Several times men are sent out to lie in wait for the wolves and to shoot at them at their approach (^e*e^eeL*), attempts are also made to trap the wolves (*qā^emiL*), but all to no effect. Finally, as many men are deputed with ropes as there are novices; they advance towards the wolves and, on the last appearance of the novices, they lasso these and succeed in fighting off the wolves. The lassoing of the novices, it should be added, is a *topā'ti'*. All now return with the novices, who are led by the ropes and who are continually whistling with whistles concealed in their mouths, to the house. The whistling noise is supposed to be produced by the wolf spirits that have entered the bodies of the novices. These spirits are known as *Héi^ena'*—cognate with or borrowed from Kwakiutl *xwē^ela*,—and are represented by pieces of quartz or, nowadays glass. The novices are taken to the back of the house, still whistling; they are now called *qahákwił* "dead in the house." The greater part of the evening is taken up by a peculiar *ts'!'ⁱqa'* ceremony. A certain number of men and women, who have inherited this *topā'ti'*, arise and sing simultaneously each his or her own *ts'!'ⁱqa'* song, accompanying themselves with rattles; at the same time another man, who is also exercising a *topā'ti'*, drums loudly and rapidly; this singing, rattling, and drumming, across the terrific din of which may be constantly heard the clamorous whistling of the novices, lasts several hours. The purpose of the ceremony seems to be to appease the wolf-inspired novices.

Before noon of the following day two important ceremonies are

performed. The first of these is the *lciH^awās^sap^a* "driving of ghosts (i. e., wolf spirits) out of the house" and is practically a form of exorcism. It is the most sacred part, at any rate the part most strictly tabooed to the uninitiated, of the whole wolf ritual and after its completion the wolves as such cease to play a part. Two men, whose *tōpā'ti'* the office is, blacken the faces of all the people, who sit in the rear and at the sides of the house and who have been provided with beating sticks. Two other men, who do so in virtue of their *tōpā'ti'*, have themselves dressed up in bear skins and erect headdresses of branches and hold rattles in their hands. The actual exorcism consists in the singing of ritualistic songs and uttering of certain noises and yells, in accompaniment to which the people beat time in various rhythms, while the exorcists perform four peculiar counter-clockwise dances, at the same time accompanying themselves with rattling. As a result of this exorcism the *Héi^sna'* of the novices leave their bodies and fly into the hands of the exorcists; at the same time the whistling of the novices ceases entirely. All, except the novices, who are still in the rear of the house, now proceed to the water's edge. The exorcists alternately dip their clasped hands down to the water and raise them above their heads, the *Héi^sna'* jutting out in the form of quartz or glass. At the fourth raising of the hands the *Héi^sna'* are supposed to return to their original owners, the wolves, who at that identical movement howl a single time. The novices are thus exorcised, but their blood has been contaminated by the presence of the *Héi^sna'*; hence a purification ceremony known as *k/wixā'* "sucking" is now performed, the term "sucking (out the bad blood)" being merely a metaphor. Certain men, quite or nearly naked, proceed to bathe in the winter-cold water of the river; they have blood streaming down from their mouths and each is held by means of a rope by another man who follows the former wherever he goes. The bathers stay in the water as long as they can endure the cold; then they are carried back by others into the house, being supposed to have become frozen stiff; they are revived by the utterance of formulaic yells.

On the evening of this day and of the three days following the novices, assisted by others, dance a series of dances known as

⁸*q̄cī⁸nak'* "pretending to be somebody." Each novice has a particular dance assigned to him or her, the assignment depending to some extent on the *topā'ti'* of his or her family; there are not more of these dances performed than there are novices, though the total number of ⁸*q̄cī⁸nak'* dances known is very large, perhaps more than seventy-five. As each line of descent has the right to perform a large number of such dances and as the great majority of the dances seem to inhere in many lines of descent, the *topā'ti'* element in these dances does not impress one as being very clearly marked, though undoubtedly present. The assistants of the novice are always of the same sex as the latter; if the novice is a child unable to perform the dance, it may be carried on the back of an older person who takes its place. The dances may be divided into three categories: those representing supernatural beings, those intended to imitate animals, and those dramatizing various activities. Examples of the first class are the dances of the thunder-bird, which differ from the thunder-bird dance given in potlatches at other times of the year; the *Hē⁸īL/īk'* or lightning serpent, who dances as the "belt" of two thunder-bird dancers; ⁸*ālmaq'oH^o*, who corresponds to the fool dancer of the Kwakiutl; the *sā⁸nak'*, a sort of supernatural wolf dancer, whose dance seems to correspond to the ⁸*wālas⁸axá* of the Kwakiutl; *po'kumis*, supernatural spirits transformed from those who have frozen to death; and *nō'tim'*, creatures of the woods who walk about stealthily and carry painted wands. The animal dances comprise a very large number, a few of which are the dances of the panther, wolf (*q̄wáyetsi⁸nak'*), wasp, red-headed woodpecker, devil-fish, and saw-bill duck. Some of the dances that illustrate activities are those of the archers, women who go berrying, those who look idly upon one that is making a canoe, those who talk secretly in whispers to one another, men who sit about lazily on their summer seats in the morning, and young men who signal to girls to follow them into the woods. The Kwakiutl *hā'mats/a* has quite recently been acquired by a few families of the Nootka of Barkley Sound from Nootka tribes farther north who are in close proximity to the Kwakiutl; it is of only secondary importance among the Nootka. Each dance is performed four times in a counter-clock-

wise circuit; a few of the dances, such as the *á̃lmaq!oH°*, are danced by a single man, others, such as the thunder-bird and wolf dances, by two who dance towards and away from each other, while in the larger number of dances an indefinite number participate. The ceremonial paraphernalia used in the dances are face, head, and forehead masks, though in many no masks are used, red-dyed cedar-bark head rings and attachments to masks, face paintings of many kinds, and many other less easily classified objects or insignia that are characteristic of particular dances. The face mask seems to be particularly characteristic of *á̃lmaq!oH°*; head masks, though now employed in many *Lōkwā'na'* dances, are said to have been originally used only for the *sā'nak'*. The dances, it should be noted, are repeated in the same order each of the four evenings. Some of the *°oci'nak'* dances have special songs that go with them and are the *topā'ti'* of particular families, others are accompanied by the singing of a set of *ts!i'qa'* songs known as *ts!i'ak' Lim'* "*ts!i'qa'* songs that follow behind"; all of these dances are preceded by the singing of *ts!i'qa'* songs.

The *°oci'nak'* dances practically conclude the ritual. On the morning of the fourth day thereafter a ceremony known as *ā'tsciL* "to go out fishing or hunting" takes place. The novices, who are supposed to have procured food for a feast, are paddled down stream in a canoe while the paddlers from time to time utter a formulaic *ā +*. At a certain point the novices jump out into the water and, as they hold on to the canoe, are paddled to shore; they are supposed to be frozen stiff and have to be revived. After the feast, really provided by the parents of the novices, the set of *°oci'nak'* dances is once more gone through. A year later a short *Lōkwā'na'* known as *hō'atst!ōp'* takes place; it lasts only one day, and its main features seem to be wolf howling and the dancing of the *°oci'nak'* dances of a year before.

Such, in bare outline, is the course of the Nootka wolf ritual. It should be remarked, however, that not all the time is taken up with set ritualistic doings, but that potlatching, including the singing of *Lōkwā'na'* potlatch songs, is constantly going on; the elaborateness and fulness of the actual ceremony depend to a large extent

on the amount of property and money that the *Lōkwā'nap'* is prepared to give away. A good deal of subsidiary buffoonery and "acting crazy" are indulged in by the various *°opā't*. These are non-hereditary clubs which, to some extent, are named according to various tribes; the women are formed into two such clubs, the Bluejays and Sea-gulls. These clubs, which have their songs, paints, and distinctive feasts, are not, however peculiar to the *Lōkwā'na'*, but operate as well in potlatches during the rest of the year; thus the *°opā't* are far from representing, as Dr Boas was inclined to believe, a breaking down during the *Lōkwā'na'* of the ordinary social system of the tribe, a state of affairs that would be comparable to the change among the Kwakiutl from *bā'xus* or "profane season" to the winter ceremonial season. The *°opā't* are said to have originated among the Nootka of Alberni Canal and to have been imitated latterly among other Nootka tribes.

One of the most striking facts about the wolf ritual of the Nootka is the frequent exercise of inherited privileges at various points of the ritual. This, however, is by no means distinctive of the *Lōkwā'na'* alone but is a trait that permeates all phases of Nootka life. The intensely sacred, even austere, character of the ritual as performed in earlier days is somewhat less in evidence now; the more savage features, such as killing of slaves, dog eating, and self-torture, which at least sometimes originally entered into the latter part of the ritual, have necessarily been ruled out of late. Police officers were charged with the duty of seeing that all the taboos and usages of the ritual were carefully observed and punished with rigor, in certain cases with death, any infringement, such as failure to have the face painted black; those guilty of smiling or gum-chewing had their mouths slit more open.

The close historic connection between the wolf ritual of the Nootka and the winter ceremonial of the Kwakiutl is easily proved and indeed quite obvious. It may be going too far, however, to say that the Nootka borrowed the entire ceremony from their northern neighbors. The fact that the wolves play such a highly characteristic and specialized part in the Nootka *Lōkwā'na'* and that the origin of the ritual is so persistently localized in the region directly

north of Barkley Sound (according to Swan the Makah of Cape Flattery also derive their ritual from this region) make it seem likely that we have to deal with an old and specifically Nootka wolf ceremony that, in course of time, has become profoundly influenced and probably considerably elaborated by the winter ceremonial of the Kwakiutl. It even seems probable that at least one of the wolf dances of the latter is Nootka in origin. At any rate, before the details of the wolf ritual among the more northern Nootka tribes, which are said to be rather different from those above outlined, are known, it is well to refrain from ascribing the Nootka *Lōkwā'na'* to a primarily Kwakiutl origin.

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